

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 04515 030448Z

50

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 IO-10 ISO-00 SAJ-01 SAB-01 SAM-01

EURE-00 ACDA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

/084 W

----- 077856

R 021605Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8844

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 4515

GENEVA FOR MEPC DEL

E.O. 11652: XGDS 1

TAGS: PFOR, UR, US, XF

SUBJECT: SOVIET VIEWS ON PRESENT ME SITUATION

1. SUMMARY. DURING DISCUSSIONS IN LAST WEEK OF MARCH WITH VISITING U.S. UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION DELEGATION, SOVIET ME EXPERT AND FORMER PRAVDA CORRESPONDENT IGOR BELYAYEV PRESSED FOR ACTIVE U.S.-SOVIET EFFORTS TO RESUME THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, BUT IMPLICITLY ENDORSED THE VIEW THAT CAREFUL PREPARATION WOULD BE REQUIRED TO ASSURE THE MEPC A CHANCE OF SUCCESS. BELYAYEV SAID THE SOVIETS BELIEVE THE UN FORCE MANDATES IN SINAI AND THE GOLAN MUST BE RENEWED. HE SAID
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 04515 030448Z

THE SOVIETS WOULD OFFER TO HELP CONVINCE THE SYRIANSTO

EXTEND THE UNDOF MANDATE. ON PALESTINIAN MATTERS, BELYAYEV INSISTED THE PLO WOULD HAVE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MEPC, BUT CLAIMED THE USSR COULD ACCEPT DELAYED PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION. HE SAID THE PALESTINIANS ULTIMATELY MUST HAVE A STATE ON THE WEST BANK AND IN GAZA, BUT INDICATED THIS ENTITY MIGHT BE A PART OF A GREATER FEDERATION INCLUDING EGYPT, SYRIA AND JORDAN. BELYAYEV GAVE A SURPRISINGLY POSITIVE EVALUATION OF RABIN'S POLICIES, ALTHOUGH HE SAID THERE IS NO IMMEDIATE PROSPECT FOR RESUMING SOVIET-ISRAELI DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. COMMENTING GENERALLY ON TALKS ABOUT ME WITH BELYAYEV, AMERICANS SAID THEY FOUND HIM "CURIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC" ABOUT THE ME SITUATION. END SUMMARY.

2. GENEVA CONFERENCE. ACCORDING TO MEMBERS OF THE U.S. DELEGATION, BELYAYEV (AND OTHER SOVIET CONTACTS) EXPECTEDLY FOCUSED ON THE NEED TO GET THE MEPC RESUMED. BELYAYEV STRESSED THAT RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WAS THE BEST PROPHYLACTIC TO PREVENT A RENEWED OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES. HE SAID IT IS "DESIRABLE" TO SET A DATE FOR RECONVENING THE CONFERENCE AND ON TWO OCCASIONS INSISTED THAT THE U.S. AND SOVIET AMBASSADORS TO THE MEPC SHOULD BECOME "ACTIVE." HE NOTED THAT VINOGRADOV HAD STAYED IN GENEVA ALTHOUGH AMBASSADOR BUNKER HAD "GONE OFF" AND URGED THAT THE AMBASSADORS "SHOULD GET TOGETHER." HE MAINTAINED THE SOVIETS SUPPORT EXTENSION OF THE UN FORCE MANDATES IN SINAI AND ON THE GOLAN AND CLAIMED SOVIETS WOULD OFFER HELP WITH THE SYRIANS.

3. ON THE THORNY QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION AT GENEVA, BELYAYEV WAS FIRM THAT "SOME DIPLOMATIC MODALITIES" HAVE TO BE DEVELOPED TO ALLOW FOR PLO PARTICIPATION. IN CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR YOST, HOWEVER, HE SHOWED FLEXIBILITY ON TIMING AND FORM OF PLO PRESENCE. BELYAYEV CLAIMED THE SOVIETS COULD ACCEPT EITHER SEPARATE PLO PARTICIPATION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFERENCE, PLO REPRESENTATION FROM THE BEGINNING AS PART OF AN ARAB DELEGATION, OR "AGREEMENT" ON PLO REPRESENTATION AT AN "ACCEPTABLE LATER TIME." BELYAYEV SAID THE FIRST OPTION WAS THE PREFERRED ONE AND THE THIRD OPTION WAS LEAST DESIRABLE TO THE SOVIETS.

4. BELYAYEV TOOK USUAL SOVIET LINE THAT ARAFAT REPRESENTS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 04515 030448Z

MODERATE AND REASONABLE PALESTINIAN POSITIONS. HE CLAIMED THAT UNLESS ISRAEL RESPONDS POSITIVELY TO PLO, ARAFAT'S POSITION CAN BE UNDERMINED. IN RESPONSE TO U.S. STATEMENT THAT PLO MUST ACCEPT ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE, BELYAYEV AND OTHER SOVIETS ASKED WHETHER THERE IS NOT SOME WAY ISRAEL COULD MAKE A "CONDITIONAL OFFER" TO THE ARABS OR THE PLO (E.G. RECOGNITION OF THE PLO IN RETURN FOR PROMISE OF PALESTINIAN RECOGNITION) OR WHETHER UNSYG COULD ACT AS AN INTERMEDIARY

BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PLO. AMBASSADOR YOST SAID HE THOUGHT THAT ISRAEL WOULD MAKE OFFER ONLY IF ASSURED PALESTINIANS WOULD RESPOND POSITIVELY AND THAT UNSYG COULD NOT ACT AS MEDIATOR. BELYAYEV INSISTED THAT ARAFAT "MAY BE SATISFIED WITH REALISTIC PROPOSALS." HOWEVER, HE CLAIMED, PLO LEADER CANNOT BE "CROWDED" TOO MUCH OR HE MIGHT BE ASSASSINATED.

5. ON POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO PALESTINIAN PROBLEMS, BELYAYEV WENT FURTHER TO SUGGEST--PRESUMABLY IN TERMS OF WHAT ARAFAT MIGHT BE ABLE TO ACCEPT--THAT ULTIMATELY PALESTINIANS WOULD HAVE TO GET A PALESTINIAN STATE ON THE WEST BANK AND IN GAZA. IT IS POSSIBLE, HE SAID, THAT A FEDERATION OF JORDAN, EGYPT, SYRIA AND A PALESTINIAN STATE COULD EMERGE TO ACT AS THE "HINTERLAND" FOR A PALESTINIAN STATE.

6. SOVIET-ISRAELI RELATIONS. BELYAYEV CLAIMED THE SOVIETS FIND PRESENT ISRAELI POSITIONS "VERY POSITIVE." RABIN, HE SAID, SEES THE NEED FOR NEW ISRAELI POLICIES, AND THERE ARE ISRAELIS WHO FAVOR A REALISTIC SOLUTION TO THE ME PROBLEM, SPECIFICALLY THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION. NEVERTHELESS, BELYAYEV SAID, HE SEES NO EARLY PROSPECT FOR THE RESUMPTION OF SOVIET-ISRAELI DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. BELYAYEV AND OTHER SOVIET CONTACTS TOLD THE U.S. DELEGATION THAT BREZHNEV'S JUNE 14, 1974 STATEMENT THAT "PROGRESS IN THE AREAS OF SETTLEMENT WILL CREATE CONDITIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR'S RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES OF THE ME" REMAINS THE AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT ON SOVIET-ISRAELI RELATIONS. IN THIS REGARD, BELYAYEV ASSERTED, NON-RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL IS A "U.S. PROBLEM, NOT A SOVIET ONE," THEREBY INDICATING THAT WHEN THE U.S. BRINGS ISRAEL AROUND ON A ME SETTLEMENT, SOVIET-ISRAELI RELATIONS COULD BE RESUMED.
STOESSEL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETINGS, MEETING DELEGATIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 APR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MOSCOW04515
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750115-0471
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750489/aaaaddof.tel
Line Count: 146
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <16 MAY 2003 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <19 MAY 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOVIET VIEWS ON PRESENT ME SITUATION
TAGS: PFOR, UR, US, XF
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006